

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3538

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USMISSION EEC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

US ERDA GERMANTOWN

IAEA VIENNA 574

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13457

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, JA, PFOR

SUBJECT: JAPAN AND NPT

REF: TOKYO 12774

SUMMARY. BECAUSE OF NECESSITY FOR PASSAGE OF FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION AND CONTINUED DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING FAVORABLE CONSENSUS IN UPPER HOUSE OR IN GAINING JSP SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION OF NPT, GOH MUST OVERCOME SERIES OF SUBSTANTIAL OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVE RATIFICATION DURING CURRENT SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. DESPITE REITERATION OF HOPE FOR EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT TO PRESS BY PRIMIN MIKI, AND BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA IN HIS FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS LAST WEEK, CHANCES FOR RATIFICATION DURING THE SPECIAL SESSION (SEPT 15 TO END OF NOV) STILL APPEAR SLIM. VICE FONMIN SATO ALSO TOLD AMB SEPT 11 THAT GOJ POLICY TO SEEK EARLY RATIFICATION WAS UNCHANGED, BUT RANGE OF EMBASSY CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTACTS FROM CONSERVATIVE LDP POLICY PLANNING COUNCIL HEAD KITAZAWA, WHO HAS BEEN "VERY CAUTIOUS" ON RATIFICATION, TO FONOFF DISARMAMENT DIVDIR KAZUHARA, WHO STRONGLY SUPPORTS RATIFICATION, CONCUR IN ASSESSMENT THAT RATIFICATION IN

SPECIAL SESSION WILL BE DIFFICULT. REASON GIVEN BY ALL IS THAT FIRST NECESSITY IN SPECIAL SESSION IS PASSAGE OF FINANCIAL BILLS AND SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET. AFTER PASSAGE OF FINANCIAL BUDGET BILLS, ON WHICH LDP AND OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE NOW SHARPLY DIVIDED, GOJ/LDP AND DECIDE WHETHER TO PRESS FOR RATIFICATION OF MORE CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN POLICY BILLS SUCH AS NPT AND JAPAN-KOREA CONTINENTAL SHELF AGREEMENT.

2. KAZUHARA CONFIDED THAT GOH AND HE PERSONALLY HAVE BEEN CANVASSING OPINION PARTICULARLY IN LDP AND JSP. WHILE MAJORITY OF JSP DIET MEMBERS FAVOR RATIFICATION, EVENTS SINCE END OF LAST REGULAR SESSION IN JUNE HAVE SERVED TO MAKE IT PERHAPS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN JSP FORMAL PARTY DECISION TO SUPPORT RATIFICATION. KAZUHARA TICKED OFF (A) SECURITY TALKS DURING PRIMIN MIKI'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON; (B) MIYAZAWA'S REAFFIRMATION OF "ROK CLAUSE" AND HIS VISITS TO SEOUL; (C) SEC-DEF SCHLESINGER'S VISITS TO SEOUL AND TOKYO; ALL OF WHICH SOCIALISTS INTERPRET AS HAVING STRENGTHENED TRI-LATERAL SECURITY TIES BETWEEN JAPAN, US AND ROK. IN ADDITION, JSP IS NOW FORMALLY COMMITTED TO MIKI CABINET OVERTHROW. TO SOCIALISTS, EACH OF THESE FACTORS ADVERSELY AFFECTS NPT APPROVAL. IN CONTRAST, SAME DEVELOPMENTS HAVE ACTUALLY IMPROVED ATTITUDES TOWARD RATIFICATION AMONG CONSERVATIVES IN LDP. GOH STILL HOPES TO GET JSP AT LEAST PRIVATELY TO AGREE TO DIET CONSIDERATION WHILE MAINTAINING PUBLIC OPPOSITION. BUT REGARDLESS OF GOJ STRATEGY, SLIM LDP MARGIN IN UPPER HOUSE AND CONTINUED DEEP-ROOTED OPPOSITION TO NPT BY SEVERAL LDP (AND DSP) HAWKS IN UPPER HOUSE MAKE PASSAGE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT WITHOUT JSP SUPPORT.

3. LDP FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL CHAIRMAN KITAZAWA EMPHASIZED THIS DIFFICULTY. AFTER GIVING EMBOFF AN ASSESSMENT OF NPT'S CHANCES SIMILAR TO KAZUHARA'S, KITAZAWA (LONG KNOWN AS A "HAWK") COMMENTED, "HAWKS IN THE UPPER HOUSE MAKE ME LOOK LIKE A SPARROW." HE ALSO NOTED THAT CLEAN GOVERNMENT PARTY (AND JSP) CALLS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE AS A COROLLARY TO RATI-
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FICATION FURTHER COMPLICATE RATIFICATION PICTURE. NEVERTHELESS, HE STATES THAT SINCE PRIMIN MIKI HAS SAID GOJ WOULD MOVE AHEAD ON RATIFICATION, "WE ARE NOW TAKING SOUNDINGS TO DETERMINE WHAT IS POSSIBLE."

4. IN RELATED DEVELOPMENT ENOURAGING RATIFICATION, RECENT PRESS REPORTS ABOUT US DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE RESTRICTIONS ON EXPORT OF ITEMS NECESSARY FOR NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT ANNOUNCED IN JULY (BASED ON ZANGGER LIST) ARE HEIGHTENING CONCERN AT LEAST IN INDUSTRIAL CIRCLES THAT FAILURE TO RATIFY WILL HAMPER JAPAN'S NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMS. RECENT EDITORIALS SUPPORTING RATIFICATION ALSO PLAY UP THEME OF "INTERNATIONAL SUSPICION" ABOUT JAPAN'S INTENTIONS REGARDING NUCLEAR WEA-

PONS.

5. COMMENT. GOJ MUST OVERCOME SERIES OF SERIOUS HURDLES IF RATIFICATION IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN CURRENT SESSION: (A) TIME IS SERIOUSLY LIMITED AND FINANCIAL/BUDGET BILLS ARE FIRST PRIORITY; BECAUSE OF CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THESE BILLS SLIPPAGE AND DELAY ARE INEVITABLE; (B) IF TIME PERMITS, LDP MUST DECIDE TO PROCEED WITH NPT; (C) LDP MAJORITY MUST BE ACHIEVED IN LOWER HOUSE; (D) MAJORITY FAVORING RATIFICATION MUST BE FOUND IN UPPER HOUSE, INCLUDING, WE BELIEVE, SUPPORT OF JSP. ALTHOUGH TIME LIMITS AND LACK OF CONSENSUS IN UPPER HOUSE ARE MOST DIFFICULT OF HURDLES, RATIFICATION CAN BE DERAILED AT ANY OF THESE JUNCTURES. WHILE DECISION ON WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH NPT WILL BE MADE LATER WHEN OVERALL PROSPECTS ARE CLEARER, ODDS NOW APPEAR AGAINST RATIFICATION IN CURRENT SESSION.
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